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The American Economy Gets Another Case Of 'Peace Jitters'

By JACK CYPIN

(Jack Cypin is an instructor in economics at Long Island University.)

If Pravda or Izvestia wanted to prove to the Russian people the dependence of United States prosperity upon a war economy, all they had to do was translate the financial sections of American newspapers. The lack of confidence in Wall Street concerning our future economic stability was rather clearly reflected in the wave of selling as the Soviet peace offensive opened.

This lack of confidence is not of recent origin and is not confined to one particular group in this country. It is a feeling prevailing among the entire population old enough to remember the great depression of 1929-1933. They remember that, in spite of voluntary efforts by large businessmen to cooperate with Herbert Hoover to "turn the corner" and the large expenditures for relief and welfare under the New Deal, it was not till World War II had been proceeding for two years that we began to approach full employment. As late as 1940 there were still over eight million unemployed.

It is possible that the confidence of the leaders of the Soviet Union that private capitalism will destroy itself if left alone played a part in the change of policy which seems to be developing. The calculations of the Politburo, or its present equivalent, the Presidium might well run along the following lines: Signs of deflation in the U.S. have been evident for over a year. This has been obvious in terms of falling farm prices, rising agricultural surpluses, expanding consumer credit and a slowing down in the rate of expansion of output.

The banks have raised their interest rates and the new administration has encouraged this to go still further by raising the interest rates on government bonds and paper. At the same time the program of output expansion undertaken under the encouragement of accelerated depreciation allowances by the government in the steel, aluminum, electronic, aircraft and other industries is reaching its peak and will begin to decline in 1953-54.

THE FREE MARKET ADVOCATES

A new administration is in office which will not discourage and perhaps may even encourage deflation in the United States under the illusion of the political conservatives that the operation of a free market is the remedy for all human ills. This is already clear in the policies of the treasury and the desire of Congress to cut all government expenditures to the bone except those for the FBI. This administration will probably respond rather slowly to the growth of unemployment which may reach over the five million mark some time in 1954-1955.

The steady growth in output capacity since World War II, as well as the improvement in efficiency of existing output capacity in the U.S., is coupled with the fact that Western Europe is now capable of producing more than before the

war. Their need for expanding their exports to pay for the food and raw materials which they must import, led even Stalin to predict an increase in friction among the capitalist nations. This friction would be especially great between the U.S. and the industrialized nations of Western Europe if the Eisenhower administration compromised with the high tariff forces in the Republican Party and scuttled in practice the policy of "trade not aid."

Western Europe would then increase its competition for markets in Asia, Latin America and Africa and probably trade increasingly with the Soviet bloc. This tendency would be much reinforced by a decrease in tension resulting from a successful peace offensive leading not only to truce in Korea but some political settlement with China and in Europe.

A "small" recession in the U.S. would increase friction still further by cutting imports from Europe drastically, both from a decline in our demand for goods and services and strengthening protectionist sentiments among the hard pressed domestic producers. This would probably result in the development of competitive trade barriers, should we initiate this process as we did in 1930 with the Hawley-Smoot tariff which is still in force.

The political effects of even a primary post-war depression, postponed as it was for four or five years by mobilization resulting from war in Korea, may be greater than many conservative politicians in this country realize. With consumer credit approaching the \$25 billion mark it is clear that a large proportion of the families who make between \$3000 and \$5000 a year (about 40% of the families of the nation) are in debt for durable consumers goods to the point where even a relatively slight decrease in income could have serious results for them. Houses, automobiles, refrigerators, washing machines and television sets are among the commodities that might have to be repossessed by banks and finance corporations in large quantities should a drop in the family income lead to inability to continue to pay installments regularly. The drop in production in the durable consumers goods industry resulting, could well lead to a further deflationary spiral driving unemployment well above the five million mark.

FIVE MILLION UNEMPLOYED

But even five million unemployed would mean insecurity and resentment not only among their families but also part-time employment and greater insecurity for the employed as well. Fear for the future would cause them to minimize their consumption, leading to excessive inventories in the clothing, furniture, textile and similar fields. It would also lead them to search for a scapegoat for their troubles as well as increase their distrust of businessmen and disgust with their leadership.

They would become more receptive to political programs attacking the existing order and call-

ing for far-reaching economic and political changes. This would weaken the conservative elements and strengthen radical and liberal democratic elements as well as extremist authoritarian elements of Stalinist or Fascist persuasion.

The political results of increasing economic friction between the U.S. and Western Europe and Japan (the Britain of the Far East as regards industrialization), would involve much stronger sentiment than exists even today for neutrality as between Russia and the U.S. Should political developments in the U.S. move from conservatism to authoritarianism, there would be a widespread tendency in the rest of the world to regard the Soviet Union as the lesser evil, much as the U.S. is regarded today. Any extremist right movement in the U.S., possibly a future development of McCarthyism, even if it never comes to power, would seriously weaken the position of leadership of the Western coalition which the U.S. holds now.

Whether this shape of things to come takes the form outlined depends, of course, to a large extent, upon decisions made by the people of the U.S. Whether our reaction to this peace offensive takes the form of proposals and actions which strengthen the UN and weaken nationalism or the opposite, will be an important factor in determining our fate. The extent to which the present administration, continuing to retreat before the conservatives & McCarthyites, is capable of making the correct decisions in this fluid and highly critical situation is open to serious doubt.

CONTROLLING DEFLATION

Even less probable is their ability to use what knowledge we have to control deflation, since it would involve increasing effective demand in the lower income groups by shifting income from the upper income families (the 20% making 47% of national income and having 90% of the savings). Since the bulk of this group are businessmen, including corporation executives, it seems unlikely that a business controlled administration will sacrifice their pocket-books for the national welfare. The Truman administration in 1949-50 was also unable to take these steps.

It may well be that the development of political maturity in the United States may be the price we will have to pay for retaining our leadership in the world and holding our own in competition with the Soviet system. Anything less than that may, at best, lead to a multiplication of neutral power blocs including Western Europe, China, India, and others under the loose control or influence of the UN.

Or, at worst, we may have a world dominated by the Soviet bloc, with a few neutrals and an isolated authoritarian garrison state known as the U.S. But the present material leadership of the U.S. will vanish just as our moral leadership has been slipping away as isolationism and "fear of freedom" strengthens its forces in this country, with the blessing of the conservatives.

Where Even Doctors Agree

Britain's 'Socialized Medicine' Benefits All

By FELIX LOPONTE

Recently, two items in the New York Times unintentionally pointed to the contrast between a social program fulfilled and the politics of evasion to a social need. One article dealt with an address which President Eisenhower delivered to the American Medical Association promising that his administration would not enact any health program but would maintain the status quo in this field. The other was a long dispatch from London by Clifton Daniel reporting the favorable reactions of British doctors after five years' experience with the National Health Service.

The failure of the Fair Deal to pass a National Health Insurance emphasizes the differences between the achievements of British Labor and American Liberalism in solving social problems. In his "Future of American Politics," Samuel Lubell noted that Truman's role "has been to raise all issues but to settle none. He has repeatedly pressed vigorous recommendations on Congress knowing they would be rejected." Since the issue of NHI has been raised but not solved, the Republican administration will reject it completely.

In Great Britain, on the other hand, the established health services are so popular that they have become part of the fabric of British life and not even the Conservatives have dared emasculate them to any major degree. R. A. Butler, Conservative Chancellor of the Exchequer, stated during his recent trip to this country that "We haven't cut social necessities or defense, nor do we propose to do so; but if there is criticism of our social program, I would say this quite frankly: that while we shall eliminate all waste and give value for money, I don't believe we could carry our burden today, carry our unions, with

us, and carry public opinion with us if we didn't maintain the social program of which we are justly proud in our country."

The Conservatives in Britain have been forced to withdraw to a different line of attack. What they previously rejected outright they have now adopted as their very own, to be defended against the Laborites who would supposedly wreck the whole program by demagogically promising to restore and extend its benefits if they return to power.

Even before the British people began to receive complete health service under the act passed by the Labor Government in 1946, they were covered by health insurance to a much greater extent than anything which presently exists in the United States. A National Health Insurance Act has been in existence since 1911 in Great Britain. It was a contributory insurance program for wage workers, but not their families. When health services were instituted free of charge on July 5, 1948, 22 million workers were covered by the old act.

Everyone in Great Britain is eligible under the present law. Residents are required only to register with a doctor of their choice who has enrolled in the health services program. The doctor can refuse a patient, and the patient can change his doctor or pay for the services of one of the 500 general practitioners outside the program. Neither the British doctors nor their patients seem to think that their freedom has been restricted: 20,000 general practitioners and nearly all 7,000 specialists have enrolled in the program, while 47 million persons, or 97% of the population, have registered with doctors.

The British program is not an insurance plan, since it is financed from general tax revenues, with the cost of the service limited to 400,000,000

pounds a year. Today, some services which were originally free, such as prescriptions, dental care, wigs, and glasses, are paid for by the patient. Physicians are paid by the government but they have a say in setting the price of services. The actual administration of the services is as decentralized as possible, providing for regional and local board on which physicians, health workers and the general public are represented.

On technical matters doctors have the dominant voice. Hospitals have been nationalized and this service is included in the comprehensive coverage, which includes every phase of care and treatment. The cost has been roughly estimated at 42 cents per person a week for the entire population.

Although we can certainly afford a plan as comprehensive as the British plan, nothing that has been proposed in the U.S. comes up to the British standard. The American Medical Association has been successful in shifting the debate from the needs of our people to the supposed horrors of socialized medicine. The fact remains that the British plan works very well and even the doctors admit it.

The political doctors of the AMA, who maintain the second largest lobby in Washington, have formed an alliance with other reactionary and conservative groups in order to oppose all progress. They are engaged in a purely selfish campaign, originally opposing even voluntary insurance plans. Whenever their practices are questioned, they proclaim that they are a medical society dedicated only to the maintenance of professional ethics.

Discussion is now centered on the report issued on Dec. 18, 1952 by the President's Commission on the Health Needs of the Nation. Prof. Seymour Harris, a noted authority on health needs

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The UAW Still Has A Social Conscience

By HARRY LOPATIN
(Special to The Socialist Call)

ATLANTIC CITY — No one can give a short-summary impression of what happens at a convention of the United Automobile Workers-CIO. It is one union, in which, since Walter Reuther took the reins of leadership, the sum total of actions and thinking gives us a picture of the best that we hoped for from trade unionism.

Not that the UAW wasn't a fighting, democratic union before Reuther was president, but his leadership seems to have helped translate into simple terms for America the complex problems which surrounds every workingman's fight to live decently.

I sat through all the sessions of the UAW's 14th Constitutional Convention. I listened to Reuther's opening address of 24 typewritten pages, and the debates surrounding the resolutions which set up their program for the future years. Each day had to supply a headline for the newsmen.

As far as economic program was concerned, I saw but one headline running through all their actions. Reuther's address was built around it. As far as labor organization was concerned there was another headline—and that, in my estimation—was an unfortunate one.

I was disturbed by some of the headline-seeking newsmen. It

was in very bad taste, for instance, for one labor columnist who is generally on the right side of labor reporting, to try to make it seem that Reuther and McDonald of Steel were just talking when they spoke publicly of their desire to work together for the good of the CIO.

Reuther, said Nelson Frank of the N.Y. World-Telegram, was surrounded by present and former Socialists. While McDonald, "a trade unionist of the old school" didn't go for the kind of talk which the Auto Union head was making. The implication

being that two basic concepts were clashing — so how could they live together in one house of labor? The argument was cockeyed—need I say why? Socialist thinking and leadership in trade unions has resulted in more good and effective progress toward improved social conditions than the rule of many so-called "old school pure trade unionists."

I don't mean to deprecate certain good old-line union leaders, whose steps were dragging when Socialists were urging the social advances which were finally

credited to the Roosevelts, Wagners, Lehmans, Greens, Murrays, and others.

I've taken this diversion, just to point out that the newsmen missed the point of the whole UAW convention. It came in that "overall headline." Reuther covered the gamut of world problems in his address, but his words coiled around the thought, which Socialists have gotten blue in the face shouting from the housetops, that "The basic problem in the world, boiled down to simple, human, understandable terms, the problem of how people can find a way to get enough to eat, a house to live in, warm clothes to wear, medical care and these other things; how they can satisfy their economic and material needs without giving up their basic political or spiritual freedom . . . And you don't have to put your souls in chains to get food in your stomach."

It wasn't "front page," nor even "back page." After all, it's been said so many times.

But, the auto workers did have a headline for the newspapers. They said what they intend to do to achieve what Reuther called "The basic problem in the world." They went on record, telling the bosses, "Make up your mind to sit down and bargain in good faith because when these basic contracts (now in force

with industry) open up we are not going to sign new ones until you put into them guaranteed annual wages for the workers in our basic industries."

The headline the newsmen grabbed with glee concerned the four basic "conditions" which Reuther explained to the auto workers would be adhered to when CIO sits down with AFL to talk about unity of labor.

Much has been said and written during the convention and after that Reuther has the bit of the UAW machine strongly in his hand, and nothing can dislodge it. True, his leadership and control is solid. That's good. Yet it was not a docile convention in the ordinary sense—even though the delegates, with the exception of CP-controlled Local 600 of Ford, urged Reuther and the members of his administration to take a much bigger pay boost than they proposed.

They opposed vigorously what they disagreed with, but more important they demonstrated understanding and support for the kind of basic philosophy which was espoused to them—which we would like to call Socialist.

We can even venture to suggest, to our friends of the press table, that "old line trade unionists" may even go for the new line because UAW has a million and a third members, and that is impressive in any language.



Congratulations are extended by CIO President Walter P. Reuther (right) to President Joseph A. Beirne of the Communication Workers on his appointment as chairman of the CIO Community Service Committee. Leo Perlis, the Committee's national director, looks on.

Economic Competition: Facts And Fallacies

By CHARLES TAIBI

(Charles Taibi has written regularly for the SOCIALIST CALL on economic problems.)

Discussions of planning and competition often founder on the rocks of confusion about and misunderstanding of the meanings of words. Therefore, it would be well to begin this article with a definition that is also an expression of a point of view.

"Am I a planner? If a planner necessarily believes in a quantitative program of output, employment and sales for particular industries, occupations and markets and the exercise of such direct controls by the State as are necessary to carry this out, I am certainly no planner. If an anti-planner necessarily denies that the State should so influence the working of the price mechanism that certain major objectives of full employment, stability, equity, freedom and the like are achieved, then I am a planner. The thesis of this book is that a large measure of state foresight and intervention is required to guide the economy from war to peace, to prevent inflationary and deflationary pressures, to ensure a tolerably equitable distribution of income and property, and to prevent or control the anti-social rigging of the market by private interests, but that these objectives can be achieved in an efficient and a free society only if an extensive use is made of the mechanisms of competition, free enterprise and the free market determination of prices and output."

This sort of pragmatic approach compels us to get back to first principles by posing important questions: For what reasons do we undertake to put any given economic policy—planning, competition or any other—into effect? Having asked questions of this kind, we must stay on the track and weigh the relative importance of relevant principled and more transitory considerations in any given case.

In short, planning and competition should be viewed merely as means, and it should be

James Edward Meade, "Planning and the Price Mechanism" (New York: Macmillan, 1949), pp. v-vi. Meade, one of the most brilliant of contemporary British economists, sub-titles his little book "The Liberal-Socialist Solution," implying a synthesis of individualistic and collectivistic economic thinking.

recalled that, in theory at least, they are means to the same end—the most efficient allocation of productive resources and the most equitable distribution of wealth. The nature of planning and competition, so stated, has been obscured by sincerely motivated emotionalism and propaganda.

SOME CURRENT FALLACIES

Some of the fallacies so produced should be cleared away immediately:

1. That competition is a necessary condition for the maintenance of a free society.

This contention is based upon a misuse, often unintentional, of the concept of competition which involves its being regarded as a synonym of "diversity." But diversity—which is a prerequisite of a free society—is not the same as economic competition; it is synonymous with competition only in the broader sense—of competition of ideas and movements—and is a different matter altogether.

2. That planning necessarily leads to an authoritarian or totalitarian society.

This contention, the corollary of the first, is fallacious for the same reason, for planning, in the economic sense, is not necessarily synonymous with "conformity." Economic planning does not necessarily involve compulsion and, in any case, would not necessarily involve influencing "diversity" in the broader sense.

Refutation of this fallacy is linked, furthermore, with refutation of the next fallacy.

3. That economic competition has been proved successful in practice.

The distortions in the allocation of resources which are the result of administered price policies—the very antithesis of economic competition—are so numerous that even staunch exponents of competition, whether theorists or "practical" men, have felt it necessary, time and again, to qualify the original theories. While no one could claim with justice that our economic system has become one completely dominated by monopolies, no one else can claim that an attempt to establish the conditions of a truly competitive economic system would be anything else but revolutionary in theory and practice.

4. That economic planning has proved to be unsuccessful whenever it has been undertaken.

This contention is a conclusion drawn from an a priori belief in planning as a policy which involves control of all the determinants of economic welfare mixed with a smattering of knowledge about economic problems in countries which have tried various policies involved in economic planning. But, first, the assumption about the nature of planning is not a realistic one, as this article is intended to show, and, second, there is some question as to whether the economic problems of a country such as Great Britain are not much more the product of policies and conditions of the pre-planning era than they are of the planning era.

Such fallacies have obscured the lessons both of planning and competitive experience—and nowhere more than in the United States.

THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

Recent history—not just theoretical discussion—has shown that planning can be the means for fully realizing the benefits of competitive activity and that the goals of economic action may be realized best in a diversity of institutions and relationships. Within their respective frames of reference, the immense social changes in the United States, Great Britain, Scandinavia and other democratic countries have proved that in a way that no theorist ever could.

In the United States, which is a case never pointed to either by traditionalist socialists or extreme reactionaries, this point is heightened by the current change in government and the swiftly changing political atmosphere. The re-

turn to "free enterprise"—of which the transfer of tideland oil and gas reserves is only a first step—is actually a move toward conformity, the beginning of a trend away from diversity.

For the fact is that, in many instances, the government—federal, state or local—is the only agency with enough power and/or resources to establish competitive counter-weights to private activity, which is far from competitive except in a formal sense and which does little to guarantee freedom to anyone except those who guide its course. In fact, its employees and the consumers of its products often are completely defenseless against its onslaughts; and while its employees may be able to hold their own simply by organizing trade unions, the consumer ordinarily cannot protect his interests unless he turns to political action.

In this country, the main danger for some time to come will be from private enterprise, not state activity, and, as most of the failures of planning schemes in this country have been the result of sabotage by business elements, policies for progress must be formulated largely by other social elements, organized and unorganized.

In short, any economic policy is what the people with power make it. The costs of manipulation for selfish interests either of the competitive mechanism or planning mechanisms are very high and may be reduced by setting each to check the other, but the ultimate control rests outside the economic sphere, with the people of a free society who are determined to remain free.

If this is understood, it should be possible to discuss the nature of an effective synthesis of planning and competition with some hope of enlightenment, along the lines indicated by Meade and many others, and with consideration of the "mixture" of public, cooperative and private enterprise indicated by needs and circumstances at any particular time.

Socialized Medicine

(Continued from Page 2)

and author of an LID pamphlet proposing a National Health Insurance plan, acclaimed the Magnuson Report as a major contribution to medical economics. The Magnuson report ducks the issue of National Health Insurance, and although the commission recognizes that only 15% of the private expenditures for medical care is covered by prepaid medical plans like Blue Cross, it insists that this is the method which must be pursued toward a solution.

LABOR OBJECTIONS

The labor and consumer members of the commission, A. J. Hayes, Elizabeth Magee, and Walter Reuther were forced to issue a minority report to this section of the study. But even this minority is quit mild in tone and calls for National Health Insurance supported by joint employer-employee contributions and other tax revenues only if the proposed law does not force compulsory state participation in a grants-in aid program. Prof. Harris advocates a much better plan in his LID pamphlet, although it too is not as comprehensive as the British system. It has been estimated that a national plan would cost about 7.2 billion dollars to operate. We certainly can afford it, if the British can.

The Magnuson Commission tried hard to placate the AMA but it did not succeed. On the day the report was issued the medical lobby was ready with a blast at it. We can expect very little social legislation from the Eisenhower administration, not even the inadequate substitution for National Health Insurance proposed in the Magnuson Report. On this President Eisenhower and the AMA agree, especially since no one else was invited to the consultation.

"Flower Pot"



Some Light On Why Workers Strike

By ROSS STAGNER

(Ross Stagner is Professor of Psychology at the University of Illinois.)

While the statistics on strikes are seriously inadequate, both as to causes and effects, it is surprising that so little has been done with them in the statistically minded USA. It has remained for a British statistician to show us that a thoughtful and inventive approach to the analysis of strike data can lead to real insights into the relations of workers and employers.

The book opens with a brief historical introduction.* From this, instead of plunging directly into his statistical data, the author makes the assertion that there has been a marked decline in labor militancy in Britain, and proceeds to examine the factors effecting this change. While it ultimately appears that the figures bear him out, the reader at first may feel some doubts because it is not clear how much of a decline in militancy has occurred. Actually, the figures show that there has been a substantial drop in magnitude (workers per strike) and a greater one in duration, more or less continuously since 1921, except for the peak in the General Strike of 1926.

The chief factors contributing to this change seemed to be: the involvement of unions in the Labor Governments, and consequent periods when strikes were held back for political reasons; wars and threats of war, during which patriotism reduced strike action; and the establishment of Joint Bodies which settle many issues by higher-level negotiations without strikes. It appears that the British labor movement is much more entangled in official commitments to conciliate, negotiate and arbitrate, as compared with the USA; also that there is more control of unions from what we would call the "international" level, so that a high percentage of strikes nowadays are "unofficial" or even in direct opposition to union officialdom. The author seems to alternate between praise and criticism of the rank-and-file for their overt action despite the braking action of top officials.

A particularly valuable section for certain American politicians to read would be that on the control of strikes, primarily by direct legal action. The author's observations indicate that the drastic legislation passed after the 1926 General Strike had little or no effect. While the very existence of the law may have had some deterrent impact, its provisions were rarely applied against workers and in most of these cases the courts upset the government's case. Even during World War II the legal sanctions were relatively ineffective: Knowles states that, of about 1,500,000 strikes, the law was invoked against 5,000, and penalties were imposed on 1,917.

MAKING COMPARISONS

The most original contributions of the volume are presented in Chapters 4 and 5, and the statistical appendix. After warning the reader regarding the weaknesses of the raw data from which strike statistics are derived, Knowles plunges into the task of teasing out meaningful comparisons from the figures on causes of strikes. We must take account of a remarkable diversity of factors: economic, sociological and psychological.

On the economic side, it is clear (p. 148) that the presence of a substantial body of unemployed workers sharply depresses strike activity. The problem of "real wages" versus "money wages" gets a more thorough examination than in most books, and with better statistics. While the results are not conclusive, it appears that strike action relates more dependably to the highly vis-

ible "money wage" and much less regularly to the concealed "real wage." The latter is often an issue in bargaining, but less likely, apparently, to evoke enough emotion to set off strike action.

One of the valuable contributions is a demonstration of how modern statistics can help in separating the relative contributions of varying factors in a complex condition. It has long been known that miners all over the world are productive of more than their share of strikes; and it is also known that some regions within a country consistently have more strikes than others. Knowles shows that it is possible to break down the strike figures in such a way as to separate the industry variable from the area variable, and estimate the importance of each. Industry, he finds, is more important (his indices running from mining, 3.7, textiles, 3.0, down to building, 0.4, and clothing, 0.3). Regional differences are substantial, and these can be related to other data on what he delicately calls "adverse social conditions." In other words, underprivileged areas (except for those on a bare subsistence level) contribute far more than their share to the strike total.

THE REAL CAUSES

What are the real causes of strikes? As Knowles points out there are many factors which never appear in the statistics, but which are none-the-less important. One is this matter of "adverse social conditions" which may set off feelings of resentment and hostility which are readily channeled into disputes about wages or working conditions. Another is the fatigue and monotony problem—the difficulty of getting any personal satisfaction from modern factory work.

The fact that no personal advantage will accrue to the worker from doing a better job—he will only increase the profits of the owner—is another probable factor. Finally, the worker's feeling of powerlessness, the superior bargaining position of the employer, may induce a need for unity within the work-group and for a demonstration of the power begotten of such unity. Most of these, he concedes, cannot be demonstrated in the data, but they may very well underlie the "immediate" demands for wages and working conditions.

It might be thought that facts on the effects of strikes would be easier to obtain; yet Knowles finds many difficulties. His section on wage consequences will probably not convince many readers that strikes have a negligible effect on wages. Yet, his figures show that between 1927 and 1939, "the increase in wages which might be considered as directly 'won' by striking amounted over these thirteen years to less than 0.6 per cent of the wage increases that came about by other means." (p. 265) He grants that the threat of a strike may have been a major weapon even if not carried out.

Do strikes constitute a major factor in loss of product? The British experience indicates that about 2% of the working time lost per year is due to strikes; the other 98% is a function of absenteeism, illness, breakdowns, layoffs, etc. Similarly, the figures on loss of production due to a specific strike (e.g., the computations on the tons of coal lost due to a miners' strike) ignore the fact that in most cases these losses are made up within a short time. Indeed, in some coal strike years, total annual production has run above normal.

He introduces an interesting sidelight by citing the anthracite strike of 1920 (USA), in which some eight deaths were attributed to strike violence; if the mines had been operating, and the usual accident rate held, 200 men would have been killed. His data on the British mines indicate that, in years without strikes, absenteeism goes up; if the worker finds the pressure too much, he may simply take time off on his own initiative. By providing a rest period, even if the loss of pay is painful, the strike seems to reduce this voluntary absenteeism for a substantial period of time.

This book, then, is full of interesting, suggestive and provocative facts. It is most unfortunate, therefore, that it is not written in such a manner as to help the reader separate the wheat from the chaff, nor indeed in such a way as to locate the author's considered judgment about his observations. Many of these judgments have been made; but they are often concealed in the middle of a paragraph, tucked away in a footnote, or hidden in other ways. In some cases the data are carefully reported and then no conclusion at all is formulated.

COMMUNICATION: INEFFECTIVE

Knowles tends to obscure the forest with a surplus of trees; even a reader accustomed to wading through statistical tomes can be forgiven for getting lost in this one. The style is generally plodding; occasionally it is livened by a delightful quotation from a strike pamphlet, only to lapse back into obscurity once more. These barriers to effective communication are the more deplorable because the people in this country who might profit most from it—the policy-makers for the union movement—will be unlikely to spend the time and effort necessary to plow through it. Yet it raises many important issues about union policy which must some day be decided; and it may be of considerable importance that they be settled soon.

The problem of government benefits to workers is just one of these. Both members and union officers are quite likely to strive for these forms of legal assistance; yet, their over-all impact seems to be to reduce union militancy and perhaps actually to weaken the union as a functional organization.

Industry-wide bargaining, and negotiation of wage rates on a national scale, represent another problem. The British have found that sectionalism and controversy within the union have been frequent consequences of such large-scale negotiation. Holding back the more advanced sections of the industry in order to win concessions for the backward areas is a case in point. While this need not mean the futility of nation-wide or industry-wide bargaining, it certainly points to consequences which must be faced.

Obviously the American labor movement must answer these and other questions in the light of our own context of economic, social and psychological influences. But we can learn from the British, and this book has much of value for us to consider.

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Books In Review

The McCarthy Miasma

MCCARTHY—The Senator, The Man, The Ism. By Jack Anderson and Ronald W. May. Beacon Press, \$3.75.

REVIEWED BY LOREN NORMAN

This book was a hurry-up job which was published just before the election last fall. The authors did a lot of digging, especially in the sun, and the very fact that they brought together in one book a lot of material that had been published in newspapers and magazines, plus the additional background and detail which Anderson and May provide, make it an impressive document.

The authors plainly label it a "reporters' notebook" and state that they leave to sociologists of the future the task of assaying the varied and multi-colored responses of the American people to the McCarthy sideshow." The American people—and the people of Wisconsin, particularly—have not learned how to deal with McCarthy. The main reason for this, it seems to me, is that the senator's critics try to deal with him as a reasonable man. They expect people to listen to reason, but people react emotionally.

I have talked to otherwise normally intelligent persons who are sound on civil liberties but who will defend McCarthy's actions with considerable heat. One Racine student is reported to have told a high school teacher: "We know you're a Socialist. Go ahead and tell us Sen. McCarthy has dodged his income taxes."

MAN WITHOUT CONSCIENCE One of the things that fools us about dealing with McCarthy is that we expect him to have a conscience. Even Huey Long—to whom the Wisconsin senator is sometimes compared—had a smattering of social conscience and a certain warmth that he was able to convey to the common people.

And ordinary crooks are usually credited with having a code of honor.

But McCarthy is ruthless, and he uses his ruthlessness. Caught on a lie, he immediately takes another tack—but never retracts. He has knifed his closest friends and associates in his climb to power. And he has threatened and bull-dozed editors, Senators and state Supreme Court justices. No matter how responsible may be his critic, he immediately replies that "the Communists have been attacking me for years."

McCarthy once said, according to Anderson and May, that "Stalin's proposal for world disarmament is a great thing and he must be given credit for being

sincere about it." You can imagine what McCarthy would do to a government employee who made a similar statement.

While much more needs to be done in explaining the McCarthy miasma which is creeping over America, Anderson and May deserve credit for doing a lot of the legwork on which future historians will base their judgments.

Autobiography

PILGRIMAGE OF PROTEST. By Caroline F. Urie. Island Press, \$2.00.

Caroline Urie of Cleveland, Ohio, has been a lifelong socialist, pacifist, teacher, social worker and, at one time, a Venetian needlepoint lace worker.

Unfortunately, "Pilgrimage of Protest," the autobiography she tells in the third person, does not deal with these parts of her life but rather with her formative years as a child of eight and until she entered college.

Caroline Urie's many friends among the readers of THE CALL will recognize the childhood of the woman they know and will enjoy reading this quietly written account of life in a mid-western Quaker family.

Scholarship To Honor James Graham

HELENA—The Montana State Federation of Labor has established a \$600 annual James D. Graham Scholarship in memory of its late president. "Jimmy" Graham was a long-time Socialist who gave unstintingly of his time and effort to the cause.

The scholarship, which may be used in any Montana institution of higher learning, will be awarded on the basis of an examination designed to show the student's knowledge of the history and methods of the American labor movement, the part it plays in our society and how it affects the national economy.

FORUM and Agin 'Em

Toward UDS

To the Editor:

The Union for Democratic Socialism has now achieved temporary organization. It is eager for applications from socialists in and out of the Socialist Party and Social Democratic Federation. They should be addressed to Meyer Miller, Room 706, 112 E. 19th Street, New York 3, N.Y. You who apply will receive printed material giving more information.

Let me make two or three things clear: First, this Union for Democratic Socialism is not a party, nor a substitute for the Socialist Party or the Social Democratic Federation. Second, it does not interfere with negotiations for unity between these political organizations or meddle in any way with that important proceeding. Third, some unfortunate experiences in starting this UDS about a year ago made us careful to invite originally only those whom we knew definitely to be believers in the American equivalent of the Fabian Society.

Because we had discovered much sensitivity in certain quarters lest the new organization should be just a front for either the SP or SDF, we leaned over backward and did not invite to the organization meetings important people in the management of these political groups. That period is over. Permanent organization will be effectuated after we have recruited a membership. Hence this letter.

NORMAN THOMAS

Plan For Korea

To the Editor:

In order to stop the war in Korea we should examine its causes as well as the reasons for its continuance, not so much to place the blame on those responsible, but rather that we may more intelligently devise a plan for the immediate and permanent end of hostilities. That the senseless blood-letting and wanton waste of war should stop at once is the utmost in desirability for both moral and economic reasons.

My suggestions are these:

1. Immediate cessation of hostilities based on the following provisions: (a) As there is to be no resumption of armed conflict all negotiations and all conferences shall be made after a cease-fire order rather than before. (b) The liberation of all prisoners-of-war. Those unwilling to return to their homelands should be settled in the countries of their choice with means provided for self-support. (This should have been done long since and there would be now no question of enforced repatriation. Not to do so was extreme stupidity. Any prisoners so fearful of reprisals or so antagonistic to communism that they did not wish to go back to their homes, were not enemies, and should not have been treated as prisoners-of-war in custody, any longer than absolutely necessary.)

2. Admittance of the Soviet

Republic of China to the United Nations, not as an award for aggression in Korea, but merely to use common sense and to right a wrong. Also recognition by the United States as the de facto government of China for the same reasons.

3. Immediate lifting of all bans on trade with China and North Korea excepting only distinctly war materials such as guns and ammunition.

4. Participation of all Korea in a free election for the purpose of unification under a single government. This election should be adequately supervised by a committee made up of nationals from such neutral countries as: India, Indonesia, Ceylon, Sweden, Switzerland, Mexico, Uruguay and Costa Rica. (If policing is deemed necessary or advisable, this committee should have supervision and be empowered to arrange for an adequate police force, entirely civilian, preferably unarmed.) There should be advance agreement to abide by the decision of the electorate whether the Communists or non-Communists win. Provision should be made for all minorities who so desire, to participate and be represented in government. Election costs to be borne by the United Nations.

5. There should be no reprisals for war guilt. (Use of liquid fire flame throwers and the bombing of non-combatants certainly must be classed as atrocities.)

6. Admittance of a United Korea to the United Nations.

7. Withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea before the election.

8. Korea be given a priority by the United Nations of immediate and continuing aid in alleviating suffering and repairing the ravages of war no matter who wins the election.

PAUL F. ALBRIGHT
Hollydale, Calif.

For More Socialism

To the Editor:

The capitalist press would have us believe that Socialism is an imported idea that has never been tried in the United States and that it would be a calamity if it became the policy of this country.

But, Socialism has been tried in this country and so far as it has gone, there would be an uproar if anyone were to suggest that it be abandoned.

There was, within the lifetime of the writer, a time when our roads were privately owned and there were toll gates at which drivers were stopped by gates which were opened by payment of toll for the use of the roads. The highways are now socialized and are free for all to use as if each driver was sole owner of them all. Our public schools are free, and provide education for our children without individual cost.

Our parks and playgrounds are free to all. Roads are smoothly paved and electrically lighted by social ownership and many other conveniences are socially

owned for the good of all the people. These, and many other things are free for all, and that is SOCIALISM. Who would now ask that public conveniences be turned back to private ownership?

It would take only a little thought and common sense for anyone to see that social ownership of the big industries would be a blessing if our industrial system was being run to supply the needs of all our people without profit to private owners, who "Toil not, neither do they spin."

Socialism would benefit every man, woman and child; and provide plenty for all. The many things we now have that are socialized only show what could be done if the whole plan of Socialism were in operation.

W. H. RICHARDS
Indianapolis, Ind.

Recommended Movie

To the Editor:

"Miracle in Milan" is a fantasy with social significance. This picture obviously is not made in Hollywood. None of the heroes ride from mansion to mansion in limousines, nor live in luxury without working in order to portray the American Way of Life.

The characters of this drama are poor people—they would be working people if there were work to be had. They live in Milan's shantytown along the railroad tracks, jumping up and down to keep warm, and desperately hungry. The hero is an unemployed boy just out of an orphanage, who teaches them to work together to find laughter and comradeship even in a dismal life; and a song which expresses the hopes of working people everywhere: "We want a little home, a little plot of ground to till."

The main theme of "Miracle in Milan" is the conflict between human rights and property rights. Believe it or not, this picture has everything, even barricades!

But here is where the fantasy comes in. Transparent spirits begin to run around the scene, a magical dove grants the shantytowners' every request, and the final scene shows them soaring into the sky on flying broomsticks, heading for a Kingdom "where good morning means good morning."

It is true that there is an air of unreality in much of this picture, but it will probably mystify the bourgeoisie more than those who have themselves been down and out. A drama which raises very real questions, and then answers them by pure fantasy, has interesting educational possibilities. So see it, if only for a pleasant relief from Hollywood's capitalist propaganda; but take some friends along with you, and don't forget to tell them what the real answer is to the question of human rights.

PETER WINANT
Boston, Mass.

Calling The Shots

Peace Offensive

By HERMAN SINGER

The suspicion that a post-Stalin regime in the USSR would be insecure and frightened of its own people has been quickly confirmed. Almost before the obsequies in memory of the dead dictator had ended, the leaders of the Soviet Union began to show their readiness to placate what is probably irresistible pressure from the Soviet masses. As a first step in this direction, the Soviet Union announced that it had sanctioned statements issued by China's Foreign Minister Chou En-lai calling for the exchange of wounded prisoners of war as the first step toward a cease-fire in Korea.

This was accompanied by a general softening of attitude toward the West generally, and the United States in particular, indicative of the fact that the Kremlin leaders do not think the Soviet people will continue to respond to the whipped-up war propaganda to which they have been subjected over the past seven years. The change has been noticeable on all levels, which means that the new "peace offensive" may yield somewhat more in actual results than previous moves in this direction. Unfortunately it may even re-infect Western spokesmen with a new variety of "Moscow fever," reminiscent of the unlamented Popular Front days of the mid-thirties.

As usual, every new Soviet policy has its origin in differences among the leading elements in control of Soviet life. It would appear that the struggle for succession among Soviet leaders is far from decided, and this factor, as much as any other, may explain the readiness to adopt a "soft" line. Until Stalin's successor emerges—the chosen method of arriving at this state will probably involve employment of Stalin's contribution to modern political science, the mass purge—the Soviet leaders have apparently agreed temporarily to tone down provocations in the foreign field.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that a Russian defector has recently reported that the NKVD influence in the Red Army in the USSR is so pervasive that NKVD regiments alone have access to arms at all times, the regular army use of such weapons being supervised by secret police units.

The change in Soviet line coincides with an era during which American foreign policy seems to be teetering on the verge of dual state-ism, a condition in which State Department policy is simultaneously influenced by and subject to the psychological veto of Senator McCarthy.

Thus, after lining up a sizable GOP bloc to oppose the nomination of Charles Bohlen as Ambassador to the USSR, McCarthy suddenly announced that he had obtained an agreement by which a number of Greek ship owners would cease shipments of goods to the Chinese Communists. These negotiations, McCarthy explained, were too "delicate" to entrust to the State Department. This maneuver earned for McCarthy a presidential "well-done," plus an accolade from Secretary of State Dulles. In return, McCarthy promised to take the State Department into his confidence in his conduct of future diplomatic operations.

While this ludicrous inner-party struggle may simply be a sign of the forthcoming split in the GOP, it does present too a tipoff as to the guide lines of an administration which was heralded as being ready to take a brand new look at American foreign policy. The new line of the Soviet rulers makes possible a recasting of American policy. The new men in the Kremlin, uncertain of their own support, can now be confronted with demands for relieving their own people of the heavy armament burden, for loosening their grip on the satellite countries, for permitting UN agencies to undertake programs of international reconstruction.

For the first time in many years, Soviet leaders are susceptible to a hard-hitting political drive from the West. Yet, despite this unique opportunity, there has been no indication that a foreign policy team composed of Eisenhower and Dulles, with McCarthy glowering from the dugout, is capable of enunciating a program that will take advantage of the new turn of events.

It is therefore all the more important for liberal and labor groups to urge a political offensive which would make the Soviet "peace offensive" yield meaningful gains for the peoples still groaning under the Soviet yoke.

Peronism Adopts Soviet Technique: Gives Support To Fake 'Socialist Party'

The dictatorship of General Peron has been very anxious to break the resistance of those valiant workers who have continued to oppose the regime. Force has not succeeded in breaking all opposition, so the government is now attempting to resort to guile.

This attack is being directed in particular against the Socialist Party, which has been one of the chief centers of resistance of the democratic workers. Although the party has not been able to hold public meetings for several years, its press has been almost completely suppressed, and its leaders and members are being dogged at every turn by agents of the Peronista secret police, the very existence of the organization has continued to gall the Peronistas.

So they have apparently launched an attempt to destroy the last open evidences of the party's existence as a center of opposition to the Peron regime, using a method familiar to the Soviet-dominated regimes in Eastern Europe.

The first step of the government in this new attack was the release on January 21 of four Socialist trade union leaders who had been held in jail since last May without any charges being brought against them: Alfredo Leon Ferreira, Arturo Ravina, Juan B. Lamesa, and Miguel Briuolo. All four were leaders of the COASI trade union group, affiliated to the O.R.I.T.

They were released after the intervention of a group of Peronistas, most of whom were ex-members of the Socialist Party, headed by Juan Unamuno, one-time Socialist city councillor in Buenos Aires, now widely regarded as an agent of Peron's secret police.

This group of Peronistas presented a request to Minister of Interior Angel Borlenghi that the four be released, saying that "in view of the failure of the Socialist Party to do anything for these workers" they were intervening. Of course, the facts are that the Socialists and other free trade unionists had been fighting without letup to free these and the hundreds of other trade union prisoners of the Peron regime.

Less than two weeks before the intervention of Unamuno and his friends, Drs. Alfredo Palacios and Carlos Sanchez Viamonte, both leaders of the Argentine Socialist Party, had commenced habeas corpus proceedings to obtain the release of the four trade unionists involved, but the court had refused to hear their demands.

THE RIVAL SOCIALISTS

Coinciding with the move of Unamuno and Borlenghi was another attack on the Socialist Party made by its ex-leader Enrique Dickman, who was expelled from the party a year ago for desertion to Peron. In a public letter to the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party, he asserted his "freedom of action" to move against the party, and this was widely interpreted to mean that he would attempt to

establish a rival pro-Peron "Socialist Party."

It is in this connection that the move of Unamuno and his friends — who include Enrique Dickman's son Eugenio, expelled from the Socialist Party several years ago for shady financial deals with the Peron administration—appears so sinister. Unamuno and his associates still claim to be "Socialists," but say they are "realists," and hence support Peron.

The Dickman letter and the Unamuno assertion that the Socialist Party has refused to defend its members who are Peron's political prisoners, seems to presage the establishment of a puppet Peronista "Socialist Party" by the Dickman-Unamuno forces, perhaps under the personal protection and encouragement of Minister of Interior Angel Borlenghi, himself a renegade Socialist and a Peronista "trade union leader."

If a puppet "Socialist Party" were to be established, there is little doubt that the Peron government would recognize it as the "real" Socialist Party. The government could then be expected to seize the Socialist Party's headquarters in Buenos Aires, the famous Casa del Pueblo, with its magnificent labor library and printing presses, and to turn these headquarters over to the ersatz "Socialists" in Peron's pay.

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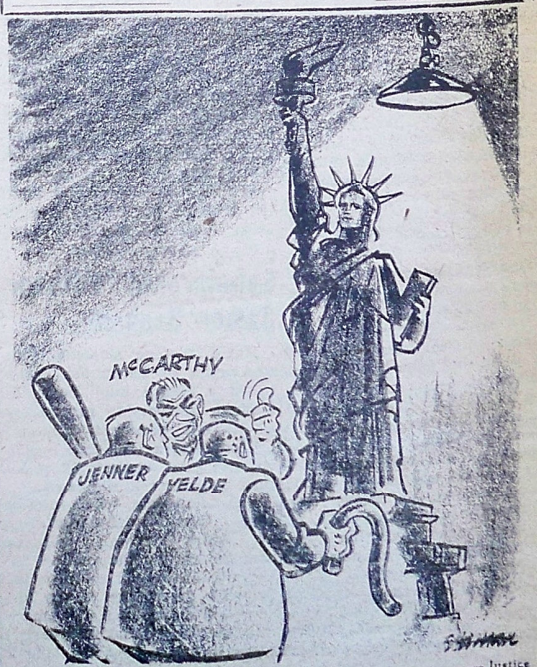
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"She'll Talk!"



— Justice

Leonard D. Abbott: Last Of The Mohicans

By MAX NOMAD

The death of Leonard D. Abbott, at the age of 74, removed from the American scene the last of the Mohicans among the American radicals of half a century ago. I first saw him forty years ago when he was one of the most popular speakers in the Ferrer School, the center of the then not quite extinct anarchist movement among the English speaking radicals of New York.

His appearance—he was tall, handsome, but whether blond or dark I no longer remember, for he has been bald and gray for the last thirty years—never failed to impress those who blundered into one of the lectures offered by that organization. Neither would his winning personality fail to bring harmony into the ranks of the often quarrelling anarchists, "Wobblies," and plain cranks haunting that club in that section of Harlem which at that time was still ethnically an extension of the lower East Side, showing no indication that it would become the stronghold of the Puerto Rican and Italian admirers of Vito Marcantonio.

I particularly remember the speech which he delivered in 1913 after the conviction to one year of imprisonment of Frank Tannenbaum, then an ardent Anarchist or Wobbly—I no longer remember, does he? Tannenbaum had been arrested for leading a crowd of unemployed and homeless men to various churches, asking for food and shelter. Abbott's appeal in behalf of the still very young immigrant boy was very moving. (After his release from prison the gifted youngster found sympathizers who enabled him to enter college. He is now a very respectable and exceedingly conservative professor at Columbia University who even has kind words for the allegedly redeeming features of Negro slavery.)

WORDS HAD MEANING

A fluent speaker and writer—he was editor of various non-political magazines—Abbott did not excel either as a theorist or as a propagandist. A critic who did not know him personally, would have been inclined to call him a libertarian phrase-maker. But in this he would have been cruelly mistaken.

To Abbott libertarianism and humanitarianism weren't phrases. He meant, or rather, he felt

every word he said. To him, who was a comparatively prosperous man, anarchism, the negation of authority, was the embodiment of justice and freedom. He did not bother about the fine points of theory and hardly ever reflected about the differences between the respective views of Proudhon, Bakunin or Kropotkin. He was not a sectarian—and in this he favorably differed from most radicals who hate radicals of another hue more than they do those who are in power.

His sympathies for the underdog made him acclaim the Bolshevik revolution at its outset. He saw in it the dawn of a new and better era in human history. He was not the only humanitarian and radical to have made that mistake.

His pro-Bolshevik sympathies cooled off after the conclusion of the Civil War in the early 1920's. But they seem to have returned during the 1930's when to many unsophisticated and uninformed liberal intellectuals the USSR began to loom as the bulwark of civilization against Nazi and Fascist barbarism. I remember how embarrassed he was when, meeting me for lunch during the late 1930's, he heard my bitter criticism of the fellow-travelers because of their uncritical support of Stalin.

OPPOSED TOTALITARIANISM

Eventually he realized his mistake, of course, and since that time he always gave his support to all radical and liberal causes that were opposed to all hues of totalitarianism.

I saw him last shortly before his death. He felt happy when I told him that the existence of disinterested men like him was a great comfort for those who were on the point of becoming misanthropists. It was not an idle compliment to cheer up a dying man who knew that he was dying. I really meant it. For he was one of those rare

deviations from, or mutations of, "that breed of swine called men in general" (Eugene O'Neill), for whom decency, sympathy, fair play and compassion were a way of life and not merely empty words.

Socialists To Hold May Day Rally At Hotel Diplomat

New York Socialists will celebrate May Day at a rally on the evening of April 30, at the Hotel Diplomat, 108 West 43 St.

In addition to speakers representing the Socialist Party, the Social Democratic Federation, the Jewish Socialist Bund, the Socialist Verband, the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and other socialist and labor groups, there will be a full program of music, entertainment and group singing.

LIFE OF THE PARTY

ALASKA

Information concerning the Socialist Party in Alaska can be secured from the Socialist Party, P.O. Box 883, Fairbanks, Alaska.

CALIFORNIA

East Bay. Information concerning socialist activities may be secured from 2412 Haate St., Berkeley. Educational meetings are held at that address every Monday evening at 8:30 p.m.

Los Angeles. Information about Party activities may be secured from the office at 1904 South Arlington. The Local is now concentrating on its campaign to elect Vern Davidson to the board of education.

San Francisco. Monthly forums are held at the Workmen's Center, 1057 Steiner Street, corner of Golden Gate Avenue. On April 24, Alfred G. Fisk, Professor of Philosophy at San Francisco State College, who has recently returned from six months in India, will speak "About India." On May 22, Durward T. Durant will review "Capitalism and Socialism on Trial" by Fritz Sternberg.

COLORADO

Information concerning activities in Colorado can be secured from the state secretary, Ailene Whithead, P.O. Box 775, Denver. A Socialist Seminar analyzing current problems is held monthly.

INDIANA

Information concerning activities in Indiana can be secured from Lawrence Brayton, state secretary, P.O. Box 1004, Fort Wayne.

MASSACHUSETTS

Information concerning activities in Massachusetts can be secured from Julius Bernstein, state secretary, 11 Rocky Nook Terrace, Jamaica Plain 30, Mass.

Local Boston meets every Wednesday evening at 8:15 p.m. On April 8 the regular monthly business meeting was held at the Workmen's Circle Center, 612 Blue Hill Avenue, Dorchester. Educational meetings are held at the Charles Street Meeting House, 70 Charles Street. Dr. Alexander Erlich,

member of the Harvard Russian Research Center, will speak on "Anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union" on April 15. On April 22 the topic will be "Independent Socialist Candidates and Electoral Action," and the speaker, Arthur Bernstein. On April 29, Richard Chartier of the B. U. School of Theology will discuss, "Non-Violence in a Revolutionary World."

A special May Day program is planned for May 1.

NEW YORK

Regular Forums are held by the Queens Branch on the first and third Wednesday of the month at the Gottlieb, 52-02 94th Street, Elmhurst. On April 8, Norman Thomas addressed the group.

A card party will be held at the home of the Cohens, 1089 Eastern Parkway, Brooklyn, on Saturday evening, April 11, to raise funds for the Parkway Discussion Group. Admission is one dollar.

OHIO

Local Cleveland held a discussion on future Party policy on March 22, and on April 9, a discussion of the effects of the new technology on our social order. Information on state activities can be secured by writing to Box 8025, Maple Valley Station, Akron 20.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia. A membership meeting of Local Philadelphia was held on Friday, March 27, at 8:30 p.m., to plan future activities.

Local Berks. The first picnic of the 1933 season has been scheduled for June 14 at Socialist Park. The executive committee of Local Berks meets on April 16 at 8 p.m. at 1009 Green Street. Local activity is now concentrated on city and county election campaigns.

The Young Socialist annual convention is being held in Reading on April 11-12. A dinner at \$1 will be held at the Lyceum on Saturday evening.

WISCONSIN

Information concerning the Socialist Party can be secured from the Party office, 536 West Juneau, Milwaukee.

Peace? Freedom? Socialism? YES!

In Asia, as in Europe, movements inspired by socialist ideals are on the march.

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Picket Lines, Protest Meeting To Mark Fight On Franco Terrorism

Picket lines and a protest meeting in New York will mark the 22nd anniversary of the proclamation of the Spanish Republic.

The picket lines will take place at the Spanish Tourist Office, Madison and 52nd Street, on Monday, April 13, between 12 and 1, and on Tuesday, April 14, between 5 and 6.

The rally will be held at Freedom House (40th Street, west of 4th Avenue) on April 15th. The meeting will begin promptly at 8:00.

Speakers will include Norman Thomas, Chairman of the Committee to Defend Franco's Labor Victims, New York City Council President Rudolph Halley, a speaker from the CIO, the AFL, and ADA. Representatives of the various Spanish exile groups will also be at the meeting.

The picket lines and rally are under the joint sponsorship of The Committee to Defend Franco's Labor Victims, 112 E. 19th Street, and the Inter-American Association For Democracy and Freedom.

As I See It

Two Post-Stalin Dangers

by Norman Thomas

Of course, we socialists along with all other Americans, should be rejoicing in the increasing hope of an honorable peace in Korea. We should warn against two opposite dangers. First, the extraordinary developments in the communist world since Stalin's death should not make Americans soft on communism. Never let your friends forget how abruptly and terribly Stalin ended his united front period by his infamous pact with Hitler. Whatever is the explanation of things that are happening behind the iron curtain, it is an explanation in terms of self-interest of Peiping, of Moscow, of Malenkov, or Beria, or both.

It by no means follows, therefore, that if the communists for their own reasons, at least temporarily, want more peaceful relations, we anti-communists must want war. If the first danger is lest the communists lull United States and its allies into false security, the second danger is that men who cannot imagine any terms of conflict other than military will make our government appear to the world as the enemy of peace.

That danger is aggravated by the fact that under our kind of capitalist system, transition into and out of the war economy are always accompanied by tremendous drops in the stock market. It's worthwhile at this point to quote the closing paragraph of an editorial in none other than the Wall Street Journal: "War itself is a terrible thing but we find yet more terrible the fact that there are men walking about talking as if peace itself were terrible."

The Wall Street Journal seems to believe that the system can take care of prosperity automatically, with lower taxes and less government spending on the wastes of war. We socialists must insist that it will not take care of itself without wise planning. Taxes can and should be lowered with peace, but there will have to be government spending to protect employment, to take care of our own social needs, and to enable us the better to play our part in a cooperative war on the world's poverty.

For example, an educational conference was told the other day in Denver that we

should spend eleven billion dollars to put our elementary schools in proper order in the United States. Certainly we do not have to spend for war in order to support employment, but a capitalist system which did not conquer unemployment until war came cannot be trusted to do the job without the wisest of government planning. Walter Reuther's request to the President to call an economic conference should be supported.

In foreign affairs, the government and people of the United States must think ahead. We must have a program for Europe and for Asia. It made sense not to recognize Mao's government while he was fighting the UN. But for a viable peace, we shall have to recognize Mao's government simply because it exists. Recognition would not imply moral approval or an end of all conflict any more than the recognition of Russia implies it.

We Americans can carry on for democracy better in an inclusive UN. But the condition of real peace in the Far East and of the de jure recognition of Mao should be a non-aggression agreement all around which will protect Formosa, Korea, and Indo-China from attack. Other plans for the Far East must include pressure on France to give unequivocal guarantees of ultimate independence to Indo-China and immediately to strengthen native government and forces.

Planning for peace, merely in the sense of the absence of war, will require re-examination of the European, the African, and the Latin-American situation. Most of all it will require dramatic leadership toward universal disarmament under a strengthened UN.

Inevitably, any wise sort of foreign policy must be accompanied by appropriate domestic policy. It will require a continuing and effective war on McCarthyism. It will require us to make our democracy more conspicuously successful at home. In particular we Americans ought to be on guard against a raid on our natural resources represented by the present tidelands oil bill which has already passed the House. The long and short of it is that there is plenty of educational work for us socialists to do.

Socialist World

BLP Strengthens Ties With African Workers

By MEYER MILLER

African miners in Enugu, Nigeria, were surprised recently to see a former British Secretary of State for Colonies enter the mine and, pick in hands, chop away at the coal face. But perhaps they shouldn't have been too surprised, for the visiting pick welder was Jim Griffiths, former chairman of the British Labor Party, who started his working life as a coal miner.

Griffiths was in Africa as head of a delegation from the BLP which spent five weeks studying economic and political developments in Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone and Gambia. That this was no mere sight-seeing trip was evidenced by incidents such as at Enugu, where Griffiths wanted to find out at first hand the conditions under which a miner has to work in the heat of the tropics.

Purpose of the mission was to gather information on current economic and political trends in West Africa for the BLP's national executive committee. The delegation met with the African ministers of the Gold Coast and Nigerian governments, who were elected to office under new constitutions introduced by the Labor regime, and spoke with leaders of the trade union and cooperative movements.

The group did not confine itself to the main population centers. On the contrary, much of the time was spent in visiting many small villages, scattered throughout the vast area, which have remained virtually unchanged for centuries. There they saw the work being done to raise living standards, the literacy campaigns and the community development schemes—many of which were given their initial impetus by the British Labor administrations.

For the last several months, special sub-committees set up by the British Labor Party's executive committee have been working on a new program in preparation for the next parliamentary elections. They now are starting to present their suggestions, which include a number of additional industries to be brought under public ownership or control. On the list for outright nationalization are water supplies (at present mostly under municipal ownership) and mineral rights. For machine tools, aircraft construction, and mine machinery manufacture, a somewhat different method of nationalization than the public board is suggested. It is proposed that the state would take over the main companies in these industries (rather than all of them) by buying up their shares, or at least enough to secure a controlling interest.

The Labor Party's affiliated trade union membership at the end of 1952 passed the five million mark for the first time in its history, while individual membership now is over one million. At the same time, it is reported that the Conservative Party lost about 500,000 members in the last two years.

Warning against "Asian Third Force" arguments, the recent

Japanese Right-Wing Social Democratic Party convention strongly endorsed the concept of regional collective security arrangements under the United Nations in order to meet direct or indirect aggression from the international Communist camp.

While opposing Japanese rearmament as proposed by the Yoshida government, since the party feels priority should be given to economic improvements, the convention nevertheless accepted the need for security forces sufficient to prevent "indirect encroachments" upon the country's freedom. Concerning the Korean war, the party voiced its fear that new moves by the present American Administration might result in widening of the conflict, but asserted simultaneously that it rejected a termination of the war "through appeasement of the aggressor."

On the question of restoring Socialist unity, the right wing party pledged to seek to end the split in Social Democratic ranks. (Some time ago, the party split into separate right- and left-wing organizations, ostensibly because of differences over the Peace Treaty, which the right favored and the left opposed.)

In a united party, the convention insisted, there must be no room for any pro-Communist leanings; the party must stand for outright opposition to both Communism and Fascism and bar any association with them, either in ideology or action. Other principles listed by the right wing party as the basis for unity include support for democratic socialism as advocated by the Socialist International; recognition of realities as regards the Peace Treaty; support for collective security and a strengthened UN; closer ties with the Socialist International and free Asian Socialist forces; cooperation with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions; priority for improved social conditions over rearmament.

On the trade union front, the party indicated its support for efforts by democratic forces to resist attempts by certain "left-wing" elements to foist their extremist policies upon the General Council of Trade Unions (Sohyo). The party also urged unity of all democratic labor organizations in Japan, and their affiliation with the ICFTU.

Many of these democratic laborites sent messages of greeting to the convention, including the seamen, mineworkers, steelworkers, textile workers, railwaymen, teachers, postal and communication workers. More than 500 delegates from all parts of the country were present at the convention.

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